6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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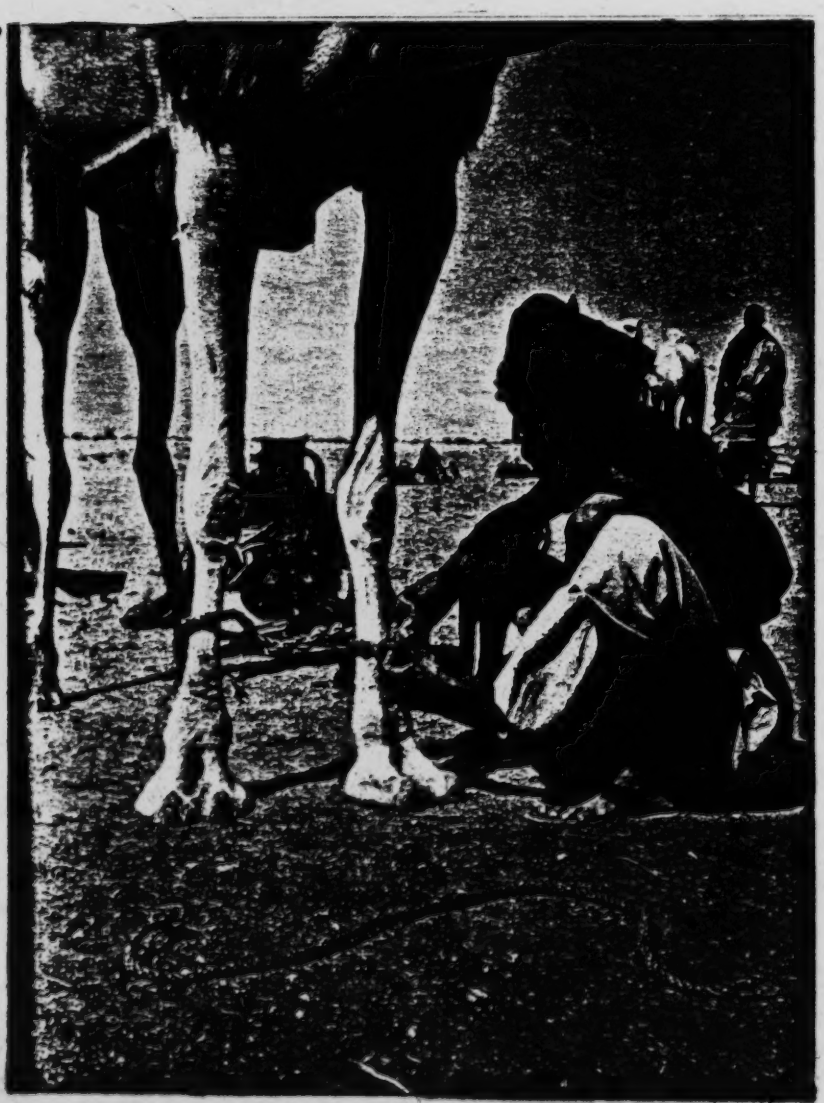

30. On a stopover the animals are hobbled for the night.

[p. 217]

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Fig. 42. She-camel provided with the plaited pouch (*abegu*) which covers its udder. The pouch is attached as follows:— A cord is tied around the body in front of the animal's hump while another cord runs along the back at both sides of the hump to pass under the tail. The three cords which form part of the pouch are tied to the tail cord in front of the hind thighs and at the tail. To milk a she-camel carrying a pouch around its udder the hind pouch-cord fastened at the animal's tail is untied. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

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*233 they are hobbled by means of a cord (*téffart*) attached around their forelegs (p. 72, Fig. 45b–c) and [284] are kept away from the mother animals during grazing in day-time. In Ahaggar as well as elsewhere in Northern Tuareg country suckling of calves are normally regulated by another method, namely a plaited pouch (*abegu*) which covers the udder of the mother camel, and the calf can thus be allowed to graze freely together with its mother (Fig. 41–42). This device is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr as *ébeyembey*, but though they know it by name they do not use it. They say, however, that it is in use among the *Kel Ewey* of the Ayr Massif.

The plaited pouch just described also serves as a means of weaning half-grown calves, but there are other weaning methods, namely the following:— (1) *ikembar*, that is cuttings on the bridge of the nose as described above for cow calves (p. 51). In addition to these cuttings, the scars of which form small bumps, it is common to cut the calf also under the chin, the visible result of such a cut being a hanging patch of skin. This method is known both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, and it is, I believe, nowadays carried out mainly for aesthetic reasons as the bumps and the hanging patch of skin adds, in Tuareg opinion, to the beauty of riding camels (Fig. 43). In fact, the cut made under the chin does not seem to hurt a sucking calf, and this cut is not made on cow calves (cf. Fig. 30). – (2) A method [114] which is described by Cauvet from the oasis of In Salah may perhaps also be known to the Northern Tuareg though I have not recorded it. It consists of a thorn put into a patch of skin cut loose on the

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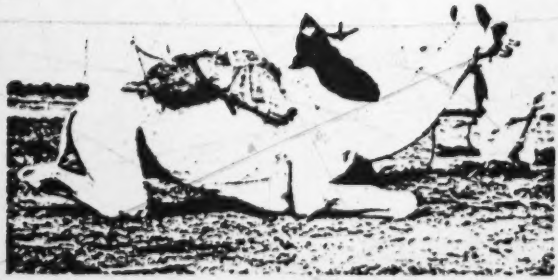

Fig. 53. Pack camel with the saddle consisting of two skin-bags (*imaytalen*) stuffed with hay. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.
Fig. 54. A skin bag (*amaytal*, pl. *imaytalen*) of the type used for pack-saddle. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: ca. 0.80 m. (N.M. G. 6658).

leather fringes (cf. Fig. 52). Some very elaborate halters are found in the Musée de l'homme (Nos. 5.66.5; 30.61.228; 95.46.3; D $\frac{24}{1}$ 42; D $\frac{24}{1}$ 25).

Foucauld describes a peculiar method for leading camels, as follows:— A little wooden stick (*aġula*) is stuck into the skin between the chin and the lower jaw of the animal, and the lead is attached to this stick. The method is practised with camels which have no nostril ring and cannot be led by means of a rope attached around their lower jaw (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 426). I have seen this peculiar method practised once in Ahaggar.

Pack-camels are rarely used without some type of saddle, but it happens that camels are used for water-transportation from the well to the camp without a saddle. The waterbags are then hung over the animal's back, their cords resting upon a layer of straw or sprays. In Ahaggar, and more so in Ayr, it is also common instead of a proper saddle to use two skin-bags filled with grain, straw, or the like to form cushions. One of these is placed before, the other behind the hump so that the cords of luggage bags can rest upon them (cf. Fig. 53–54). These cushions are known as *imaytalen* (sing. *amaytal*), and they may serve as a pack-saddle even on long journeys, though the Tuareg in general use proper saddles on trading expeditions.

Pack-saddles of the Northern Tuareg correspond to saddles found among the Arabs of the Sahara. The common type is that known to the Arabs as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥiddǧe*, and called *élaki* by the Northern Tuareg. It consists of a wooden frame (*élaki*) generally made from pieces of palm leaf ribs (Fig. 55). It is made up of two crossbars placed close to each other, each of them being composed of two short and slightly curved pieces of palm leaves' ribs lashed together at the top with raw camel-hide. The

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pair of cross-bars is connected with four short sticks of the same material, each being lashed with hide horizontally to the crossbars. This frame is generally manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt, who also make the large cushion (*tihekam*) of date palm bast to which the saddle-frame is attached with cords. On rare occasions the Tuareg also have saddle-frames of wood (*tabarekkat*, that is *Tamarix aphylla*) made by the blacksmiths on the same pattern, and they may also use cushions of hay stuffed into a piece of matting. The *élaki*-saddle is used in the following way:— The short, looped cords of the loading bags rest upon the wooden frame in front of the camel's hump and on the rear part of the saddle-cushion. A bunch of grass or date palm bast (*aselki*) is placed under the loading cords that they may not gall the back of the camel. In addition to the proper camel-load divided into two halves (e.g., two large bags) there are frequently many smaller objects to be transported, and these are then attached to the wooden saddle-frame. The *élaki*-saddle normally rests loosely upon the camel's back, but it may be fixed to the animal's back by a girth (*ahayif*). It is also occasionally

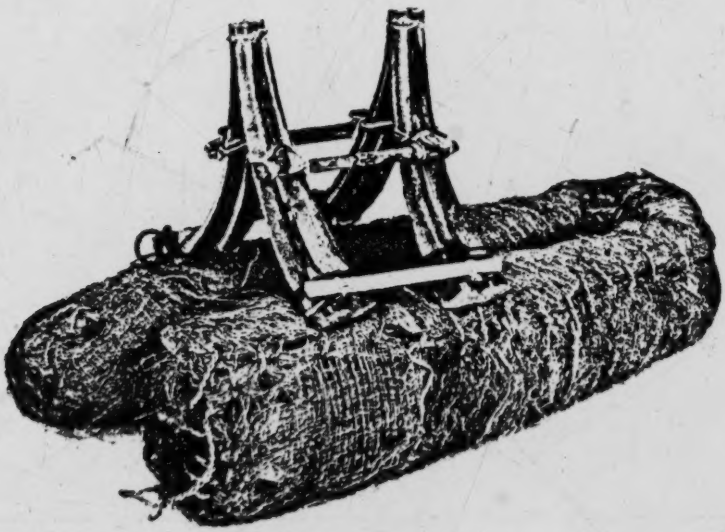

Fig. 55. The *élaki* pack saddle consisting of a saddle frame attached to a U-formed cushion made of date palm bast: The saddle frame made of palm fronds lashed with raw hide. It is called *élaki*, or *erras en élaki*. Ahaggar, Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 0.34 m high. (F.M. 191).
The saddle cushion of date palm bast. It is called *tihekam*. Ahaggar, Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 1.50 m long. (F.M. 192).

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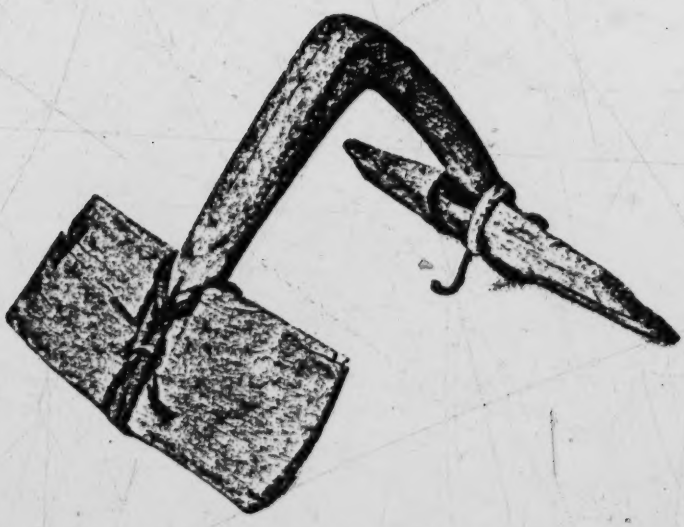

Fig. 58. Wooden saddle frame of the *aruki* type. The curved piece of wood is fastened to two boards with strips of raw hide. The frame is manufactured by an Ayr blacksmith. Bought at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.337 m long, 0.275 m high. (N.M. G. 5247).

*492 by men and boys, who sit sideways in front of the hump resting their feet upon the animal's neck, or, [171] more rarely, behind the hump with their feet hanging down, as is the custom of Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. It should be added that on long trading expeditions the Tuareg frequently content themselves with sitting on the top of their loaded pack-camels. But riding in these ways is not very pleasant, and whenever possible the Tuareg use proper riding saddles placed in front of the camel's hump so that the rider sits cross-legged in the saddle with his feet resting upon the lower part of the animal's neck.

Most Tuareg have saddles of the well-known type with a cruciformed pommel. This saddle is known [531] as *térik* which term is used for three distinct sub-types. One is known as *tekokeyt* (Fig. 60); it differs from the type known as *tamzak* mainly therein that the latter is provided with peculiar ornaments and designs (Fig. 61). These two saddles are those normally used by the Tuareg, while the third sub-type known as *bertekes* is extremely rare; it resembles the *tamzak*-saddle, but is provided with many [564] small bells fastened to be back (Fig. 62). Such saddles are hardly ever manufactured by the black-[432] smiths of Northern Tuareg countries, but are made in Ayr, notably in Agadez, where the Northern Tuareg also buy their riding saddles. Even the Arab pastoralists of the tribes *Chamba* and *Ulad Ba*

[Text continues on p. 80]

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Fig. 60. Riding saddle of *tekakeyt* type (*térik*). Bought in Ahaggar by Olufsen, manufactured in Ayr. Dimension: 0.70 m high, 0.50 m long, 0.35 m broad. (N.M. G. 1.126).

[284] [237] [143] *Hammu* obtain their riding saddles from Ayr. All three sub-types of the *térik*-saddle are constructionally identical, being made from pieces of wood lashed together with raw hide and then covered with coloured leather. The structure of this *térik*-saddle is described and depicted in literature (cf. notably Gabus 1949, pl. XII; 1957, p. 176 & Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 48, p. 179).

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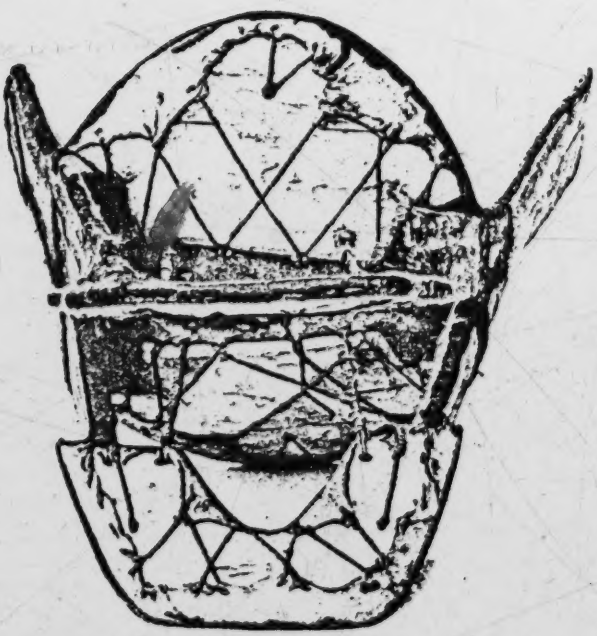

Fig. 63b. cf. Fig. 63a.

*492 huge saddle bag known as *ejjebira*, manufactured exclusively by the sedentary people of Agadez, the
415 *Imeggedezen* (Fig. 72a). Other bags are often used by riders and some of them will be mentioned in the description of skin and leather work.

283 An important part of the rider's equipment is the drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from metal and attached to the saddle pommel with a plaited leather cord (*témetrek*); it is particularly common
*492 among the Northern Tuareg (Fig. 71). The Tuareg also possess a great many objects which serve
531 exclusively as ornaments for riding camels. The Northern Tuareg adorn their animals with a collar (*tahawt*) made from fine cords of goat's hair, while the Ayr Tuareg use another type of collar called

[Text continues on p. 88]

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Fig. 64. Riding saddle of the type known as *kaxtarki* or *delobi*. It is made of two forked boughs of *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) connected with sticks and the seat. The latter is made of slender roots (sing. *tékéwt*) of the afagag *acacia* (*Acacia Raddiana*). These slender roots are bent into a circle, are covered with cotton or similar material, and a kind of net is made of dum palm rope within the circle. Ayr, *Imeggedezen*. Dimension: 0.49 m high. (N.M. G. 6656).

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Fig. 70a–b. Tuareg camel whips (*alekkoḍ*, pl. *ilekkaḍ*).

a. Whip with a single lash. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.08 m long. (M.N. G. 1.138).
b. Whip with two lashes. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Uraṛen* tribe. Dimension: 0.845 m long. (Author's collection).

Fig. 71. The drinking bowl (*tamennust*) made from tinned brass and fixed to its ornamented leather cord (*témetrek*) by means of which it is attached to the saddle pommel (cf. Fig. 49). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the bowl: 0.258 m in diameter (upper part). Dimension of the leather cord: 0.685 m long. (N. M. G. 5287).

donkeys, but, as in the North, they sometimes mount the riding camels of men sitting across the animal behind the saddle.

The Tuareg take a keen interest in the adornment of all objects used for riding camels. The richly decorated saddles and the ornaments of the riding gear express the particular value attached to the animals used for riding. But Tuareg interest in camels is perhaps more clearly understood, when we consider their rich camel vocabulary.

The Tuareg have one word which can be used for any camel regardless of its sex and age, its colour, and all other particular qualities. This word (*amaǧur*, pl. *imuǧar* in the northern dialect) does not seem to have its equivalents in vocabularies of other domestic animals which collectively are referred to by means of a sex term of adult animals (e.g., *ulli* = "goats"). The word *amaǧur* (pl. *imuǧar*) is used in conversation, but it is heard less frequently than camel terms which have a very definite meaning.

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Fig. 90. Tuareg dog of the breed which is common among the Ayr Tuareg. Dogs suffer much from heat in summer when they hide under water-bags. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

DOGS

231 The Northern Tuareg distinguish between three types of dogs (sing. *eydi*) as follows:— (1) a long-haired breed (*aberhoh*); (2) a short-haired slender breed (*akhamí*); (3) a very slender and elegantly
[173] built greyhound (*oska*) (Fig. 91). The Ahaggar Tuareg speak of a tradition, according to which the greyhound (*oska*) was introduced fairly recently through contacts with the Northern Arabs. The Ayr Tuareg do not make similar distinctions between dog breeds. They have only one breed which is known as *ijji* (Fig. 90). It is short-haired and slenderly built though less so than the true Arab greyhound.

[136] Dogs are kept to guard the camp and in particular to protect the animals from the attack of jackals or hyenas during night. If the Tuareg had no dogs it would be most difficult for them to breed goats and sheep. Dogs may also follow the flocks in daytime to protect the animals against beasts of prey, though this is not generally considered necessary. Dogs are not trained as "sheep-dogs", but it is said that a few "intelligent" dogs will assist the herdsman in keeping the flock together during grazing,
[224] and many dogs will drive away domestic animals which belong to foreign flocks. Some Tuareg use dogs in hunting barbary sheep, gazelle, antelope, and hare (cf. hunting, p. 159, 166).

[17] It is well-known that the Arabs consider the dog an unclean animal. This is also so among Arab nomads of the Sahara, but they do not consider their greyhounds unclean in this sense. Thus pastoralists of the Chamba group told me that among them a fine greyhound is esteemed in much the same way as are noble riding horses and camels. The Tuareg have very few true greyhounds and
[521] I do not believe that they have this same feeling of interest in them. But many children and young
[541] people are fond of all types of dogs, and one can hear them discuss the qualities of their animals and the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp.

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Fig. 167a–b. Baskets of the *aragus* type used for making butter-milk cheese (*awles*). They are made from straw bent into circular bundles and kept together with thin cords (*dhafikn*) of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tahlé* tribe.
a. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.240 in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5818).
b. Dimension: 0.100–0.105 m high, 0.205–0.215 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5819).

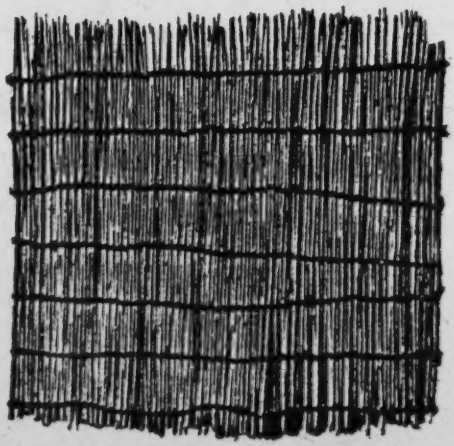

Fig. 168. The straw-mat (*tizebart*) used for the manufacture of *tekammart*-cheese known as *tekammart* in Ayr, that is cheese made from fresh milk. The mat is made of stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) united with narrow leather strips. Ayr, the *Kel Akorra* tribe. Dimension: 0.46 × 0.44 m high. (N.M. G. 6612).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

or a large chopping knife of European origin; (4) Holes are dug with one of the implements mentioned in front of the bed and behind it, and the curved wooden pieces forming the arches are placed in these holes and are lashed together at their upper ends. These holes are 0.30–0.35 m deep; (5) Holes of the same depth are dug for the vertical sticks which support the cross-bars at both sides of the arches, the cross-bars being attached to the vertical sticks by means of cords; (6) A long cord is wound around the high middle arch so that the cord forms tight loops along the upper part of the arch; (7) The slender semi-arches, each consisting of two rods, are placed in the loops of the middle arch from both ends; (8) The thick ends of these rods are attached to the cross-bars with cords; (9) The upper ends of these rods are attached to each other to form semi-arches, and the wooden structure is now finished; (10) Two mats of the *ewerwer* type, which form the inner layer of the roof, are laid over the semi-arches; (11) Dum palm mats of oval shape are placed upon these mats; (12) A long and narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent following its longitudinal direction; (13) The mats are fastened to the wooden structure by means of a cord running over the high central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the dwelling; (14) An oval dum palm mat is placed on each side of the high central arch, and these two mats are fastened to the wooden structure with cords attached to the two lower middle arches; (15) A long narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent along the high middle arch at a right angle to the longitudinal direction; (16) All mats covering the upper structure of the tent are finally fastened by means of a cord system running all over the roof and attached to the horizontal cross-bars and the lower parts of the arches; (17) The long narrow dum palm mat is drawn around the lower part of the tent if considered necessary.

The mat tent is normally erected as here described, but all women do not erect their tents exactly in the order mentioned. The work seems to be very easy to the women who measure no distances. They seem to carry out their work automatically. I have not been able to control the amount of time needed for one or two women to erect a mat tent of the type mentioned, for the women are frequently interrupted in their work by many other household duties, by their crying babies, or by visitors from other camps, but I believe that one woman can erect this elaborate tent structure in about half an hour.

There are some mat tents which are slightly different in structure from the above-mentioned tent. These are mentioned below:—

B.1.b. Tents which are larger and have a more elaborate structure. Such tents are rare and are found mainly in the camps of chiefs. They may have four or five arches and a larger number of semi-arches than other tents. I have seen very large tents in the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and the largest tent I have seen was that of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief. It contained two large beds and measured about 6.00 × 3.50 m; it was over two metres high at the middle arch.

Mat tents of a less elaborate structure are not so rare. The following types can be mentioned:—

B.1.c. A tent structurally identical with B.1.a with the exception that it has only two arches which are of equal height. These arches are then both known by the term *tekkekkewatin* (sing. *tekkekkewat*). Tents of this type with only two arches seem to be common among the *Iforas* tribes of Southern Ayr.

B.1.d. A tent with two slender arches of equal height, secured in an erect position by means of cords from the middle of the arches to the middle of the horizontal cross-bars. This is not a common type, and I have seen only one such dwelling in a vassal camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

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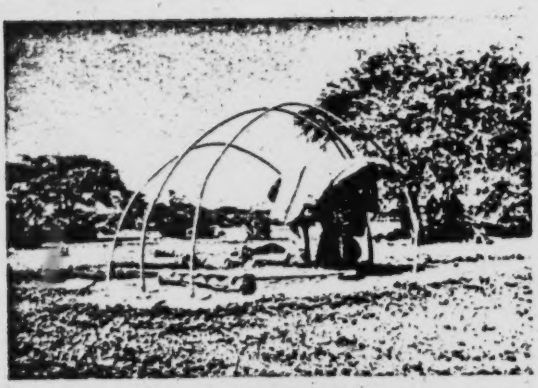

The Erection of a Mat Tent in Ayr.

Fig. 265a. The wooden bed (*tédebus*) is placed upon the cleared ground. The pronged posts carrying riding cushions, skin bags, etc., and the curved wooden pieces constituting the three arches known as *tekkakewat* and *t'ilisawin* are buried in the ground. The cushions and decorated skin bags resting in the heavy wooden prongs are temporarily covered with tent mats that their colours may not be damaged by sunshine.

Fig. 265b. The arch pieces are lashed together and the two horizontal cross-bars (*izgar*) are fixed to vertical sticks (*tigettewin*) buried in the ground at the narrow ends of the tent. A little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of each cross-bar is seen on this photograph.

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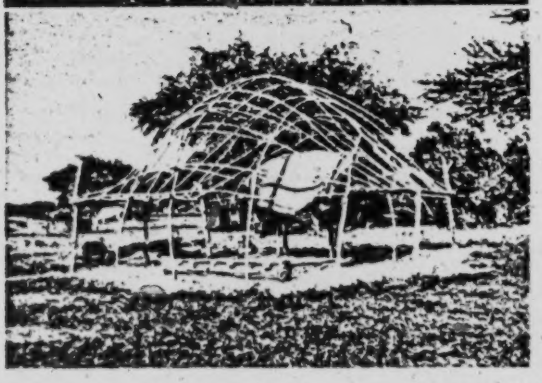

Fig. 265c. A long cord is wound around the high middle arch to form loops for the insertion of the slender rods forming semi-arches in the longitudinal direction. The thick ends of these rods are fastened to the cross-bars but are not yet lashed together at their upper, narrow ends.

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The Erection of a Mat Tent in Ayr.

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Fig. 265d. The narrow ends of the pieces of longitudinal semiarches are linked together. The tent structure is now finished to be covered with mats. The interior cover consisting of two rectangular mats made from plant stems and known as *iwerweren* (sing. *ăwerwĕr*) is seen on this photograph.

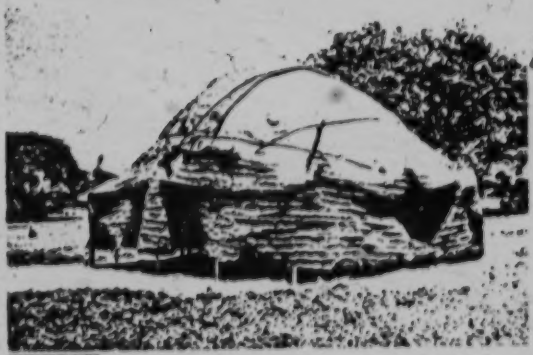

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Fig. 265e. The dum palm mats of oval shape (*ăfal*) and the long narrow dum palm mats (*asalamamer*) are placed over the *iwerweren* mats and are tied to the dome-shaped structure with cords. The narrow dum palm mat (*ăyeli*) surrounding the lower part of the tent is fixed to the structure.

[133]

Fig. 265f. The mat tent is taken down for erection in a new place. The woman standing within the structure is loosening the looped cord which keeps the semi-arches to the high middle arch. It is not the same tent as that depicted Fig. 265a–e but the two tents belong to the same camp of the *Imezzureg* tribe near Agadez in Southern Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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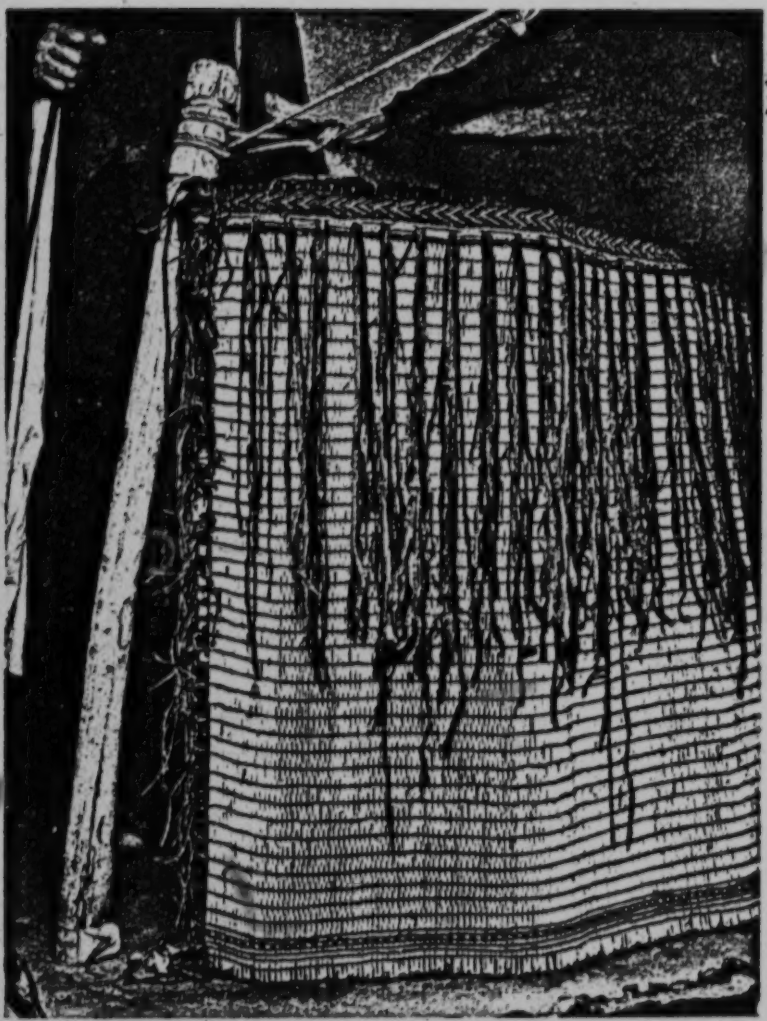

Fig. 268. Mat of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) ornamented with coloured leather fringes. The mat belongs to Oloffen's collection from Ahaggar, and the photograph was taken in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen. Dimension: 8,87×0.85 m. (N.M. G. 1.4).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*342 a similar cross-bar is placed at some distance from its first-mentioned counterpart, and these two pairs of poles, with their cross-bars, are connected with one another by means of horizontal sticks or rods lashed to the cross-bars and the vertical poles around their prongs. It is not known whether this system constitutes the whole structure, and it is also unknown whether the long horizontal sticks or rods follow the longitudinal direction or are placed at right angles to it.

B.2.d. *Skin tents supported by two pairs of forked sticks with cross-bars and a system of cords in the longitudinal direction*

This type is described by Urvoy from "French West Africa", and is perhaps common among certain south-western Tuareg though this is not explicitly stated by the author. The structure is claimed to be in ordinary use, and is briefly as follows:— The two pairs of two forked sticks with their cross-bars are placed parallel to each other. Two cords, made from goat's hair or leather, cross this structure in a longitudinal direction running over the forked sticks and the ends of their cross-bars, and are attached to small wooden pegs driven into the ground at the narrow ends. The idea of this cord system is not quite clear. The sheet is attached to poles outside the structure. The cords running over the wooden skeleton may serve as a support for the sheet, but it may also serve to create a more solid position for the wooden structure (cf. Urvoy 1942, p. 33 ff.).

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B.2.e. *Skin tents with longitudinal cross-bars connected with horizontal sticks*

A tent apparently of this structure is depicted by Lhote. The whole edifice is not seen on his photograph, but it is suggested that it is as follows:— Two rows of three forked sticks parallel to each other. Each row has a horizontal cross-bar resting in the prongs, and these two parallel cross-bars are connected with each other by means of three or four horizontal sticks at right angles to the longer cross-bars. The photograph of this tent, which seems to be a very small one, is taken among *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg in the region of Gao (cf. Lhote 1947a, photograph No. 80 p. 113).

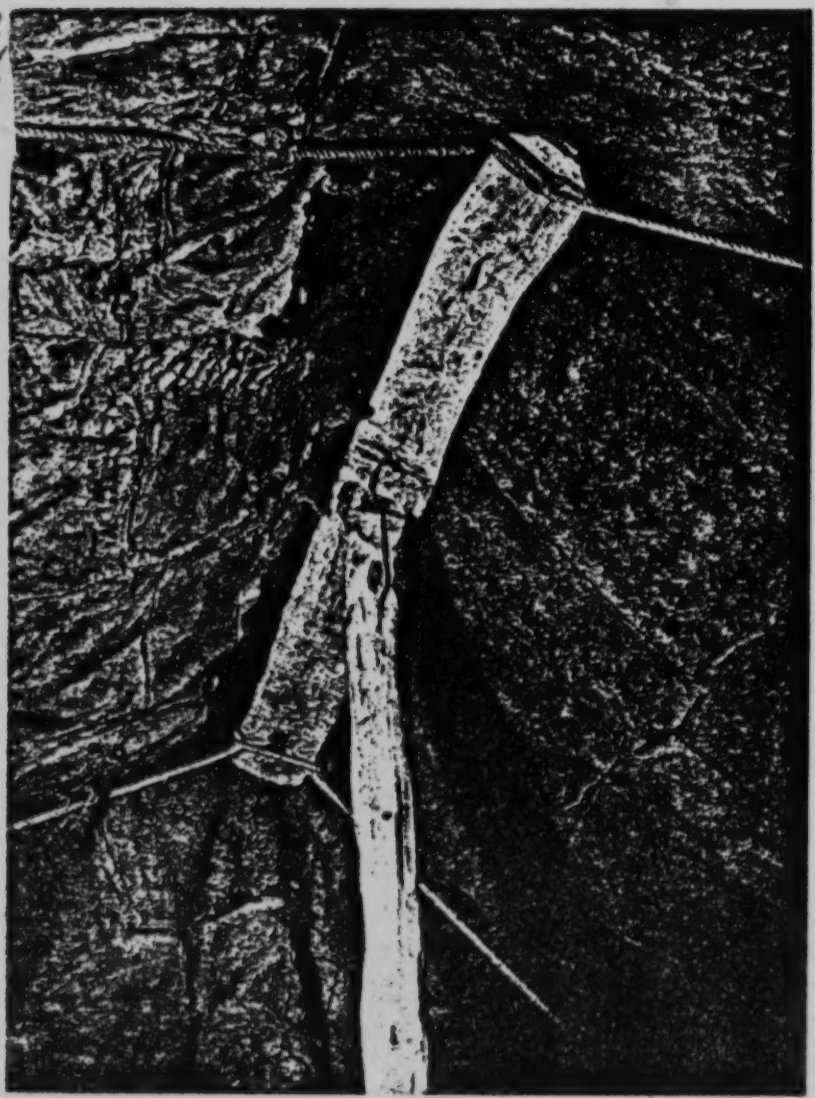
B.2.f. *Skin tents with pairs of forked poles carrying horizontal cross-bars*

Such tents are widely found in Tuareg country. They are recorded from the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram*, the *Iforas* Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras, and from the Ahaggar Tuareg. The sub-types described below are closely related to each other.

B.2.f.1. This type is described in detail by Lhote from *Iwellemmeden Kel Ataram*. It consists of three pairs of forked poles or sticks which carry horizontal cross-bars at right angles to the longitudinal direction. The forked uprights are known as *tigettewin* (sing. *tagettiwt*), and the cross-bars are called *chiburgin*. The distance between the middle pair and the two outer pairs of uprights with their cross-bars is about 1.50 metres, and the middle pair is generally somewhat higher than the two outer pairs. Nine uprights depicted by Lhote vary in height from 1.20 to 1.44 metres and have a diameter of about 0.03 m. The three pairs of uprights and cross-bars are connected with a leather cord. This ties the cross-bars to their forked uprights and connects the latter poles with each other in the longitudinal direction. The leather cords adds to the solidity and flexibility of the structure. The sheet which rests

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*342
●284
281



7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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[281]
[284]

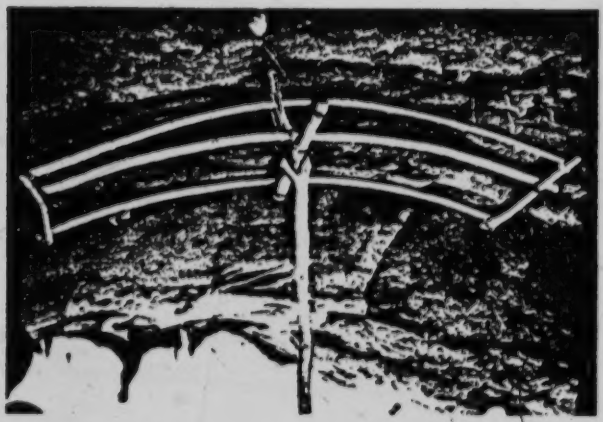

Fig. 283. Cross-bar (*tamaskayt*) of the B.2.g.7 type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireḍenaten* tribe.

in case of very extreme heat in the summer make a kind of primitive T-shaped post from a simple bough of tamarisk, to the top of which they attach a short stick of the same material. They then wrap pieces of old cotton around the place of attachment in order that the post shall not gall the sheet. [114] But though I have lived among vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar over extremely long periods of the hot season I have seen such primitive T-shaped posts only once. As already stated T-shaped posts seem to be advantageous also during heavy showers of rain as the water quickly runs off the sheet. However, I have never seen vassal Tuareg use simple T-shaped posts in case of heavy rainfall, for they content themselves with holding a stick or pole against the sheet as long as rain falls. Primitive T-shaped posts like those just described from Ahaggar and consisting of a simple post at the top of which a short horizontal stick is attached, seem to be a mere imitation of the true T-shaped posts. However, there is another and very interesting type of T-shaped post, which I describe below under the two headings:—

[361] B.2.g.7. This tent I saw in a camp of *Ireḍenaten* Tuareg not far from I-n-abanṛerit in the Tamesna Plains. The tent had two pairs of forked sticks (*tiḍeḍḍewin*) each pair carrying a horizontal cross-bar (*areḍaraḍa*). These forked sticks with their cross-bars were about 0.70 m high. While these sticks were buried in the ground there was between their two cross-bars a central forked post (*aḍet*) about 1.20 metres high. In its prong it carried a most unusual cross-bar called *tamankayt*. This consisted of a wooden frame 1.44 m long and 0.72 m broad made from three long sticks attached to three short ones the middle one of which was particularly heavy and rested in the prong of the central post (cf. Fig. 283). The short sticks were parallel to the two outer cross-bars and at right angles to the longitudinal direction. In other words, the length of this cross-bar frame followed the longitudinal direction of the tent, but in spite of this we can speak of a cross-bar placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction, as one of the short sticks of the frame rests upon the central post. The frame-like cross-bar was not fastened to the outer cross-bars with cords, and the central post was not buried in the ground.